837 606 607 Up until recent times, the father-in-law and even the brothers-in-law had the right to spend one or several nights with the wife of his son or brother. The father-in-law had the right to claim this right without discussion, while the brothers-in-law had to have the brother's permission. The wife who refused to share her bed with her father-in-law or one of her brothers-in-law could be driven away. The husband even had the right to compel his wife to give her favors to one of his friends.

CHAPTER III. DISSOLUTION OF MARRIAGE

1. Death

765 Two days after a death, the whole clan arrives to assist the widow and orphans in their mourning. The mother and her children shave off their hair, take off their bracelets, and abstain from washing their clothes (kwirabura, lit., to become black). One of the brothers of the deceased lights a fire that burns in the rugo without cease for two days (igitshaniro). When it has gone out, the children and their uncle take the ashes and go in secret to throw them in a marsh.

[834] Mourning lasts for two months during which time the married sons may not have intercourse with their wives.

On the first day of the third month the members of the family return. In the evening they all assemble, swallow [32] great quantities of beer, and sing happily (kwera, lit., to become white). The brother of the deceased who took charge of the igitshaniro, or in his absence, another brother, must share the bed of the widow (kweza). The married sons, in the order of their birth, simulate the sexual act with their wives.

The following day, the widow and the wives of the married sons put milk in the churns and make butter (1). Then all the members of

1. During the mourning they could not touch the churns. A stranger to the family of the deceased came and made the butter.

the family rub themselves with chalk, put on white garments, and go

765 to the watering place. A brother of the deceased goes down in the near-by well, draws out water with a jug, and empties it into the watering trough. Then he passes the jug to the male children, beginning with the eldest, and each one imitates his gesture (2). In

2. During mourning, only the cowherds fill the watering trough.

the evening the guardians milk the cows; then after the mother, with the help of the paternal uncle, has removed the butter from her own churn (gutshyura igisabo, lit., to bring the churns back), the married sons and their wives do the same thing with theirs.

The son then gives a heifer to the uncle and a bull calf to the sister who has removed the cow dung (gukuka) in the kraal.

768 The night is spent in drinking, and the following day the uncle proceeds to choose a new head of the family if the father had not already designated one before dying.

765 If the wife has not had any children or if the marriage has lasted only a short while, her death gives rise to no ceremony and the husband wears mourning for only a week. (3)

3. All these curious ceremonies show the deep sorrow of the deceased's relatives. Above all, their purpose [33] is to prevent misfortune descending on the family of the one who has disappeared (guhumana, lit., to be soiled, to change color, to contract a serious illness).

Although they are extraneous to the common law itself, we have deemed it desirable to make a brief sketch of these ceremonies, in order to show that the whole life of the Banyarwanda is encircled in a close web of prescriptions of a magic nature.

[33] 2. Separation and Divorce

586 It may happen that the husband's and wife's characters are not in harmony, that the wife complains of her husband's stinginess,

SECTION III. INHERITANCE

1. Basis of the Law of Inheritance

428 The principles regulating the laws of inheritance are:

1) Wives and daughters are excluded from inheritance for they can neither bequeath nor inherit valuables.

2) In principle, the inheritance remains in the male paternal line (2);

> 2. A boy may also inherit from his mother's family but only if the deceased, a relative of his mother, has expressed his wish before dying and also, of course, if he has no natural heirs. It may also happen that a stranger inherits from the deceased, if the latter has no heirs.

3) The new head of the family is normally, but not necessarily, the eldest of the sons, with no distinction made between mothers.

2. Designation of the New Head of the Family

[765] 396 428 The period of mourning (kwirabura, lit., to become black) and the purification ceremonies (kwera, lit., to become white) being over, that is, two months after the death (3), the [61] designation of the new head

> 3. The time is reduced to a few days if the couple have not had any children.

of the family (umutware w'urugo rwa se, lit., the head of his father's rugo) takes place.

If the father has died without having been able to make his wishes known, this choice is made by the chief of the umulyango who asks beforehand the advice of the elders. It matters little whether the sons are of different mothers (polygyny, or successive marriages), whether they are legitimate, born of a concubine, or adulterine. Only the qualities required of a future head of the family are taken into consideration.

587 If the widower is left with very young children, the parents-in-law usually suggest to their son-in-law that he take one of their other daughters as a wife (2) so that the children do not have a stranger as

[765]

2. The widower may not remarry until after a month of mourning. During this time he does not shave, does not wash his clothes, and may not have intercourse with another woman.

stepmother. Far from claiming another dowry for her, they offer on the contrary an indongoranyo cow (3) which normally, however, is

3. A hoe, among the Bahutu.

the counterpart of the dowry paid.

A widower without children may claim restitution of the dowry. He usually does not do so because he knows that his parents-in-law, to avoid returning the dowry, will find him a new wife among their own daughters or those of their kin.

7. Guardianship of Children (4)

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4. Cf. Personal Status, Tutelage and Emancipation, pp. 31 and 32.

The widowed mother who does not remarry outside the family continues to live in her rugo where she brings up her children until their marriage, which emancipates them, at least so far as the boys are concerned.

The son who is named head of the family actually replaces his father, provided he is old enough to do so. He has the same rights and obligations as his father, especially that of establishing his brothers (by giving them some indemano) and marrying off his sisters. If later one of his sisters happens to be repudiated, she takes refuge with her mother or her brother, who finds her a new husband.

If all the boys are minors, the paternal grandfather or, in his absence, the paternal uncle who seems the best [72] qualified is

765 Funeral rites are performed only when a king is buried, but after each death certain mourning customs are observed which are more or less elaborate depending on the social position of the deceased. If the deceased is a common Murundi and also father of a family, his widow (or widows) and children observe a mourning period of seven days by not leaving the homestead. Presumably they are afraid of the spirit of the deceased when going outside the house so shortly after his death. Inside the hut they introduce numerous inovations and rearrangements as though they wanted to lead astray and divert the spirit of the deceased should he decide to return. The entrance to the residential hut is changed to another side, new stones are found for the fireplace, the place of the bed is moved, all the tools are rearranged, and so forth. After the seventh day every [783] member of the family takes a thorough bath in a stream, probably as a symbolic cleansing from the defilement caused by the deceased. Then the whole family have their heads shaved as a symbol of purification and mourning, and during the following two months they always wear clothes of mourning when leaving [292] the house, i.e., barkcloth which is neither dyed black, the normal color, nor painted with patterns (No. 19, p. 163) but [822] has its natural reddish-brown color; thus red is the color of mourning here. The name of the deceased is not mentioned any [551] more so as not to cause his malevolent spirit to appear, and all other persons or objects bearing the same name are given new ones.

Naturally a deceased mutwale is given more respect than 766 a common Murundi. For the former the kiranga performs the 211 ceremonies of the "holy spear" (see p. 134), and a tree is 768 planted on his grave [115] as a memorial (imana) which is inviolable. The family of the deceased leaves the homestead and settles in another place; the huts of the deceased disintegrate and disappear, and the fig trees that form the fence gradually grow into magnificent trees. Nobody may cut them down for [689] wood on pain of death (No. 19, p. 205). The sites where chiefs once lived, both in Urundi and Ruanda, can be picked out anywhere in the landscape by these groups of trees arranged in a circle where they once enclosed the courtyards (Plate 29a).

[765] The mourning period for a mutwale lasts two to three weeks. However, the highest honors are paid to the dead king
766 (see p. 185 [not translated]). The corpse is first wrapped in
775 hides and barkcloth. It is not buried but dried over a smoking fire until it has become completely mummified. The first worm ("soul worm") that leaves the corpse is put into a milk pot and fed until one night it leaves the pot and turns into a giant snake (isato) in which the spirit (umusimu) of the dead king will reside from then on. The corpse is not embalmed.
766 The corpse of the king is not arranged in a crouched position as are those of the common Barundi; the arms and legs remain extended (No. 19, p. 204). In Ankole, however, the king's body is also put in a crouched position, wrapped in cowhide and buried (No. 27, p. 101). In Urundi the dead king is then put on a wooden trestle in the center of the homestead and left to lie in state until the feet of the trestle are eaten by termites. Under certain conditions this may take months. It is reported that King Kisabo lay in state in this way for an entire year. A local missionary told me that the deceased was
[588] even "married" to a young wife whose duty it was to take care of him and to provide him with food and pombe beer every day. During the entire period in which he lies in state the king's subjects gather from all corners of his realm; they pray to his spirit to win his favor, eat and drink in a festive funeral banquet beside his bier, and praise the deceased. Of course, the great ceremony of the "holy spear" is also performed. The
[765] official period of mourning for the king is one month. Finally, the mummy, accompanied by the medicine men and priests and followed by a wailing crowd of people, is carried away by the closest male relatives of the king. It is taken a distance of several days' journey to Ganso Mountain in the northwestern border mountains adjoining Ruanda, south of the source of the Ruvuvu River. The corpse is finally buried in a forest which may be entered only by the members of the royal family (Baganwa) and the priests. According to van der Burgt, however, it is not buried but simply laid to rest in a hut (see p. 186 [not translated]). The other Barundi kings have also been laid to rest there (No. 4, p. 223). On the other hand, van der Burgt writes

532 of artistic creativity which is also typical of all their other
776 cultural possessions. The same is also true of most other East Africans. The Barundi represent their imaginary spirits only in their dances (see p. 127). They decorate them with certain symbolic emblems and pay homage to them, motivated
[781] by a mixture of fear and calculation.

Finally, religious concepts and emotions are also re-
784 flected in many "superstitious" customs with which the life of
262 the Barundi abounds. Most of these customs are designed to repel evil spirits. Those which deal with diet, care of the body, etc., frequently seem to the European observer to be hygienic precautions. There are many rules and taboos (umusiro) pertaining to food. As has been mentioned above, all Barundi may eat beef, although it is quite a rare treat for them (p. 46). Only the Batwa eat goat meat; a Muhutu will eat it only in rare cases. Nobody, however, is permitted to eat chicken meat, venison, or the flesh of numerous other animals which for various reasons are considered impure. Also, there are the food taboos on the totem animals of the different clans (p. 103). Few people eat mutton, and only the tribes living on Lake Tanganyika eat fish. Blacksmiths must abstain from eating pork (No. 23, 1914, pp. 111 ff.). Incidentally, no woman
[843] may watch a blacksmith at work. A pregnant Murundi wife is not permitted to eat meat, beans, sweet potatoes, beer, or salt; she may only eat boiled manioc, hot maize gruel, ripe bananas, and peanuts. However, a pregnant Mutwa woman may eat and drink as usual. Nobody may warm or boil milk
[825] since otherwise the cows would become sick. Likewise, a person who has eaten peanuts or peas may [138] not drink milk on the same day since the cows would become sick. Nobody may eat vegetables and milk at the same time since this would harm the cows which gave the milk. The Banjaruanda, Banjankole, Banjampororó, and Banjoro have the same superstitions (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 514, 534; No. 19, p. 6). In
[765] Urundi, after the father of a family has died, his widow and children do not eat salt until the period of mourning has passed, and they do not cut their hair.

643 767 Then the king appoints one or two chiefs to go and settle their difficulties.

In the old days these undertakers could not visit with their fellow men, nor could they eat or drink with them. Even today, when [415] invited to feast with their neighbors, they must bring with them their own drinking tube. It is maintained that they do not eat with their children. If it came to pass that the latter, in turn, should bury a new king, they would have to leave their parents and never see them again.

[198 644] A special vocabulary is used to speak of the monarch and certain of his acts. It would be most disrespectful to say that the king sleeps, drinks, eats, etc., like anyone else. We have already seen how his ailments and his death are mentioned (yaberamye, yanyoye, yatabaye, etc.).

767 644 643 It is for the same reason that the royal undertakers bear a name that recalls their function only in a very indirect way. Just as they are strictly forbidden to go to the capital, custom forbids the king to go through areas inhabited by members of this corporation or to camp there. He must avoid the sacred groves where the spirits of his ancestors rest, as though the idea of death could shorten the life of the sovereign. It is mandatory to his followers to avert that image and thought from his eyes and from his ears, which are those of a demigod well above common mortals.

He must be enabled to enjoy this life and all its pleasures in peace.

5. Mourning Rites Observed at the Death of a Prince

643 765 The king is mourned for four months, that is to say, until the official accession of his successor to the throne. During /522/ that period of time, cohabitation between spouses is theoretically forbidden. Bulls are also separated from the herds at the time of this terrible misfortune, which causes the Banyarwanda to state that "the sky has fallen" (ijuru ryaguye). Men and even children shave their heads [302] as a sign of mourning.

643 All work in the fields is strictly forbidden. The chiefs were
765 in charge of this, and in order to show their zeal they would not have hesitated to kill on the spot any wretch who would have gone so far as to violate custom. If the fields were already plowed, one might
[689] at best sow the seeds or plant the seedlings, but the hoe could not be used.

[731] A stick had to be used to dig up sweet potatoes from the ground. It is not overly surprising to hear that sometimes, in the past, famine resulted from this forced period of cessation of work.

II. Royal Tombs and Sacred Groves (Cemeteries and Former Capitals)

1. Origin and Constitution of the Sacred Groves

766 Afther the death of a king, as we have said, his body is taken
778 into one of the sacred groves where a large hut is built to shelter the remains and to mummify them by desiccated prior to burial.

A courtyard is also built, enclosed with ficus branches which soon take root and which later give rise to a new thicket. Once the job of smoking is completed, the keepers of the hut bury what is left of the body inside the dwelling.

They remain there for some time afterward to prevent any desecration which they believe might still be committed. When the four months of mourning are over, the house is abandoned and the door is carefully barricaded on the outside.

The hut will stand for three, four, or even five years, /523/ and will eventually fall to pieces with age without anyone worrying about it. Before they leave, the royal undertakers plant inside the courtyard a branch of erythrina (umwuko) in honor of Ryangombe,
[824] the alleged founder of the secret society of initiates (imandwa), and a ficus (umuvumu) branch to recall the majesty of kingship (ngo n' umwami) by the height of its trunk and the span of its branches and leaves. The funeral grove is henceforth created or, if it already existed, a further unit is added, which in time will be one with the others.

764 resting place for several important members of this clan.

Other Banyiginya were buried in Urundi and in the Bugessera province, which borders on that country. The dead sons of Musinga, who number at least five or six, rest there in their last sleep.

The deceased are usually buried in a hut. In the Budaha, the owner of a hut that served as a Mwega's tomb cannot leave the dwelling until about a year later. He is forced to remain there to prevent sorcerers from digging up the body.

769 there are several, is dedicated to a spirit in whose honor they marry a woman whom they later keep or discard, depending on their whims and fancies.

Well-off Bahutu attempt to imitate the great, but their huts [343] are usually few in number. So as not to be inferior to those they emulate in their superstitions, they build around their dwelling several tiny huts (indaro) which often consist merely of two or three sticks planted in the ground and barely bound at the top by a small band. /539/

4. The Annual Mourning Period of Fifteen Days in the Month of June, Which Ends With an Important Celebration

765 769 771 The famous annual mourning period of 15 days takes place during the last fortnight of the lunar month called by the native name of Gichurassi, which corresponds approximately to our month of June. In principle the king alone is supposed to go into mourning, but the whole court joins him for the sake of solidarity. At that time, the

765 769 796 prince must cast aside his ornaments and retain only ordinary clothes. No marriage ceremony may take place. Games and dances are prohibited. Among the drums, only the Ndamutsa is heard around nine o'clock in the morning.

When the mourning period is nearly over, the chiefs have beer brought in from various parts of Ruanda in preparation for the closing celebration (gukur' igichurassi, "to chase away the month of mourning"). On the eve of the day appointed for the festivities, the small drum (ishako) is heard at four different times during the night to herald the great solemn occasion. At dawn other instruments join in. Joyous shouts rise on all sides and the crowd rushes to the huge esplanade where the festival is to take place.

Continuous dancing follows, with pages and other specialists participating. The members of the Ryangombe secret society, their faces smeared with white, observe their usual ceremonies. Sacrifices are offered.

The sacred cows appear on the square and contribute in no small way to the original character of the festivities. Needless to say, beer flows freely.

As for finding out in whose honor the mourning is held, this is no easy matter. The chroniclers do not agree on this score. /540/ Some say that it is held in honor of all kings; others add that it is held in honor of a queen whose name has been forgotten. The majority state that it is observed in memory of Ndahiro.

The latter's death is said to have occurred precisely during the month of Gichurassi and in the circumstances we have already mentioned. We leave it to better informed people to cut those Gordian knots.

764 grave is dug so deep that the gravedigger's head is not visible when he is standing in it. Only those who have been killed are laid to rest in caves. In Bugoye people who have died at home of an illness or of old age are buried near the house. People who have died suddenly or have been killed are simply abandoned or thrown into the bushes. People who have died in an epidemic or of starvation are also abandoned.

The corpses left in swamps are devoured by animals. In contrast to this, care is taken that buried corpses are not dug up, and to prevent this, the grave is covered with banana stalks and thorns.

765 The deceased is mourned for four days. On the fourth day the members of his family remove their bracelets and shave their heads for four moons. If a wife dies, only the girls remove their jewelry; the men merely shave their heads. After four months the masunzu, the shaved patterns, are allowed to grow again.

In Bugoye and Nduga, it is said that a stick (kasongera) is broken above the hut of a woman who has become a widow. This probably symbolizes the absent phallus.

764 The abandonment of the corpse which is customary in Nduga is probably related to the Batutsi element. The Bahutu of Mulera bury their dead, like the Bantu of the neighboring Congo Basin. There is an inexplicable contrast between the neglect of the dead and the death cult. Could this neglect perhaps facilitate the

[765] transformation into an animal? The members of royal families of Ruanda and Urundi are [232] said to turn into leopards after their death, just as the ruling family of Kiziba, like the Massai, turn into snakes.

766 643 According to Father Van der Burgt (1), the corpse of the king

1. Van der Burgt, Father J.M.M., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande [French-Kirundi Dictionary with short definitions in Swahili and German.] (Bois-le-Duc, Holland, 1903), p. 204.

766 of Urundi is dried and stretched out on a four-legged frame to be
643 worshipped. It is exposed until the frame is eaten by termites
[782] and collapses. Only then is the corpse wrapped up and buried at the same spot while many human sacrifices are made. The bodies of Ruanda kings, on the other hand, are dessicated by fire, whereupon the frame on which they lie and the entire hut are reduced to ashes. The death by fire of an entire family in its hut is said to be a favorite method of suicide among the Batutsi.

765 In conclusion we must mention an observation of Dr. Kandt (2):

2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 476.

"The Wanjaruanda, a tribe living deep in the interior without any contact with Western ideas, say 'ukwirabura (to be black)' when they mean 'to be in mourning.' They say, 'ukwera (to be white)' when they mean 'the period of mourning is past.' This is all the more strange since the two colors in no way appear in dress, decoration, etc., to indicate mourning or the cessation of mourning."

Chapter 11

The Clan

614 Protection of the Individual. The basis of social organization in Ruanda as well as in the other parts of the interlacustrine region is the clan or blood relationship which is here known as umuryango.

The clan represents a society whose membership is replenished by natural increase, for every child belongs to its father's clan. As a result, every clan is actually a union of families closely or distantly related on the male side. Outsiders are admitted to the clan only in exceptional cases. This happens in Mulera, for example, when a family has only daughters and no sons. Since the
[597] lack of male descendants would weaken the fighting force of the clan, families adopt sons-in-law as a precaution. In such cases the children are said to belong to their mother's clan and not to that of their father who in this way relinquishes the interests of his relatives.

In Mulera, in contrast to Kissaka, the female members of the clan are also avenged, but in Ruanda I heard nothing about women being killed in revenge.

The clan which has avenged its dead casts off mourning and celebrates the happy event with dancing and beer drinking. This announces to the others that they have nothing more to fear.

In exacting vengeance, the injured clan is primarily bent on laying its hands on members of the criminal's clan, but the murderer himself also receives special attention.

During my stay in Mulera a man with a pot of beer on his head went to a neighboring settlement. On the way he met a stranger who expressed the wish to taste his beer. When the man refused, the stranger retaliated by stabbing him in the back. The wounded man fell to the ground and began to scream. The stranger fled, but the injured man's clansmen pursued him, inflicted arm and head wounds with a bush knife, bound him, and brought him to their settlement. There he had to await the outcome of his victim's illness, and if the man had died, he would have had to pay with his life for his fit of temper.

Revenge is the factor that most strongly binds the clan together and contributes most to the development of a feeling of solidarity among clan members.

A clan that refused to take revenge would become extinct in a short time, since neighbors could plunder its members without punishment.

[238] The practice of blood revenge in Ruanda and, above all, in Nduga where clan members are scattered among outsiders takes the form of secret, occasional murders. In the northwest, for example, in Itambi where clans have settled in larger units, revenge is said to take on the nature of a regular war. This difference is decidedly an adjustment of the same institution to the particular conditions prevailing in the two regions.

Unsettled and pending cases of revenge constitute an ever-present danger for the clan members, and at the same time they involve many unexpected and unpleasant situations. The clans are settled in different places far apart from one another, and the individual member is not always informed about the relation of his clan to others in distant regions. For this reason the Munyaruanda

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

428 his heir, the king or his clan appointed someone to inherit his property.

764 When a man died, all ornaments and clothing, with the exception of a loin-cloth, were removed, his legs were bent up into the squatting posture, and his head was shaved. A cow was brought to the bedside, a little hair from it was put in the right hand of the dead man and a little milk milked over it. This hand with the hair in it was then placed under the head.

In the case of an ordinary man, the grave was dug by the relatives or servants in the garden near, or, should he have no land, in some secluded spot, and the body was buried there.

766 Should he, however, be a wealthy man, the grave was dug big enough for a bedstead to be placed in it. This was covered with skins, on which the body, wrapped in mats, was laid and covered with skins of wild animals and cows. A second bedstead was placed on top of the first to keep the earth from the body, and the grave was filled up with earth, which was piled into a mound over it. The weapons of a dead man were put on his grave, and in the case of a woman her flour basket was buried with her.

764 A hut without any doorway was built over the grave and a growing fence planted round it. There was always the fear that someone might disturb the dead by digging up the body for the purpose of working magic, and the heir was therefore responsible for keeping this fence in repair until it had grown big enough to keep off people and cattle, after which no further attention was paid to it. After the burial all the people who took part in it were given hot water to wash their hands before leaving for their own homes.

765 A cow was brought and killed by the grave after the burial and was cooked and eaten by the mourners. The skin was dressed and worn as mourning by the heir, or by some favourite child of the dead man, for two months, during which time he might not come into the presence of the king. The mourners might neither wash nor shave. They lived together in one house, avoided all other people, and had to be strictly chaste lest they should incur the ghost's displeasure.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

After the mourning the heir was purified by an elder of the clan, and he then took the mourning garment and buried it in some secret place. The mourners shaved their heads and hid the hair. A medicine-man decided whether the house of the dead man might still be inhabited or not. If the people were permitted to remain there, they, the place, and the pots had to be purified; but if they had to go they gave the pots and furniture away and left the house to fall down.

The heir was purified again by an elder of the clan and then went to buy a cow, which he took to the king, whom he was not on this occasion allowed to see. The next day he visited the king, taking a present of a young bull, and informed him of the death. This reception constituted his acknowledgment by the king as the dead man's heir, but if he proved unsatisfactory he might later be dismissed from the chieftainship.

The heir took all his father's widows except old women and his own mother. He even took widows with children, and the children regarded him as their father.

When a married man lost his father he lived apart from his wife for two months, and on the death of his mother he avoided his wife for one month.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

613 835 incestuous relationships. The most serious in the inzu would be between Ego and Da or Ego and FaSi. These were said never to occur. Incest was viewed with horror as a beastly thing, a view reflected in one of the words used to describe it, *ubuhene*. The root of this word is *ihene* (goat) because, as an informant put it, only he-goats pair with their mothers and sisters. A breach of this rule was the concern of everybody in the group as it was likely to bring about calamities affecting them all.

613 476 Another duty of a member of a primary lineage *vis-à-vis* any of his kinsmen was that of rendering assistance when he was in difficulties (as for instance when a father was unable to help his son to pay bride-wealth or when the cows of a herdsman had been killed by an illness). This obligation was particularly binding when the misfortune was no fault of the victim, but even if it was, aid was often given. As has been mentioned, the lineage-head or the council usually determined the amount to be contributed by everybody. But mutual help was also an individual duty.

A kinsman could enlist the help of the wise and experienced men of his inzu when he had to go to the tribunal. He was accompanied [692] by them, and was helped not only by their advice but also and sometimes mainly by the mere fact of their moral support. The chief who was judging could see the power of the group behind the plaintiff or the defendant.

Inzu solidarity operated both actively and passively in blood-feuds. All adult kinsmen of the victim were obliged to take up arms and carry out vengeance. Kinsmen of the murderer had to defend themselves and all adult males of his inzu had to accept the risk of being killed because of their kinsman's crime.

613 764 When a member of the inzu died, all others met in the deceased's hut and watched by the corpse for eight days. After this the corpse was not buried but thrown away in some isolated place, such as the top of a rocky hill, which could be used by the people of any inzu living nearby. Mourning lasted two months for a 613 man and one month for a woman. During that period there was a ●765 prohibition on intercourse for people very closely connected with the deceased (his son, his wife, his son's wife, his father). At the end of the mourning period all the inzu gathered together again. [833] There was a beer-feast and obligatory intercourse for all the inzu members with their own spouses. When there was no spouse, as

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

for instance with a widow, intercourse took place with a brother or a parallel cousin of the deceased husband.

Among the Hutu when the inzu as such possessed fields (*ingobii* or *ubukonde*), as happened particularly in the northern area (Bugoyi, Mulera, Ndorwa), the individual member had a right to a plot (*isambo*). He could not sell such a plot, but could let it (at a rent of about one hoe for two years). If the ancestor has received cows from a lord (*shebuja*), these cows, or rather their offspring, were the property of the inzu which happened to have some pasture land. Among the Tutsi there were usually no land rights vested in the inzu. Tutsi as well as Hutu inzu had no sacred place other than the ancestor's shrine in the *rugo* (enclosure) of the lineage-head and the small huts in the enclosure of each descendant.

From this one may infer that the lineage group at the end of the nineteenth century was not a group with a territorial basis. It is very likely that a territorial lineage group was common among the Hutu and had persisted in the north where Hutu were predominant and where Tutsi occupation had always been scanty and superficial (there were very few Tutsi settlers in that region, apart from administrative chiefs).[9] On the other hand all the activities of the inzu just described implied a rather close co-residence (which is, of course, different from the concept of a territorial basis). These frequent gatherings, blood-feuds, and the rendering of help in difficult circumstances would hardly have been possible if the members of the group had been living in scattered places several days' journey apart. This explains also the crucial importance of the change of residence in the formation of a new inzu. When a branch of an inzu had to leave and settle elsewhere, it was bound to become a new inzu because the former relations with the members of the inzu who did not move could not have been maintained, at least among the Hutu and ordinary Tutsi. This was less important for Tutsi chiefs who were in any case moving about and travelling frequently.

(c) *Social roles within the inzu*

Following the authors of *Toward a General Theory of Action*, social role is understood here as the totality of reciprocal

[9] For an account of the specific structure of the kinship system in the north of Ruanda, the present-day districts (*territoires*) of Kisenyi, Ruhengeri and part of Biumba, see Hertefelt, 1959.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

activities of her husband's inzu and was not bound by all the obligations common to the members of her own inzu, a few words should be added about her behaviour in this connexion.

She participated in the cult of Ego's (= her husband's) ancestor and of her own ancestor, but she was not allowed to build a shrine in honour of her ancestor in Ego's enclosure. She gave the ritual gifts at the birth of a child in her own inzu as well as in Ego's inzu, and did the same at marriage ceremonies. In times of mourning, Ego's inzu was predominant: his wife had to practise sexual abstention for two or three months when Ego's parents died. For her own parents she was not bound by any such observances. She received protection from her husband's group, but from her own only when she had disputes with Ego's lineage

2. THE DESCENT GROUP OF EGO'S MOTHER

A man (or a woman) was not a member of his mother's patrilineage, which is why in the preceding section only his agnates were considered. But the picture of Ego's position in kinship relations would be incomplete if it were limited to that. Ego's mother's agnates were not complete strangers to him. In everyday life, he met them often and his culture provided him with roles to assume in these circumstances. In some cases Ego's behaviour to 'maternal' kin was very similar to that which he was expected to observe towards the agnatic counterpart of that kin.

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
I. The generation of Ego's mother		
Mo	Mama	Mama
MoBr	Data	Marume
MoSi	Mama	Mamawacu
MoFaBrSo	Data	Marume
MoFaBrDa	Mama	Mamawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSo	Data	Marume
MoFaFaBrSoDa	Mama	Mamawacu
II. The generation of Ego's maternal grandfather		
MoFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
MoFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuru
MoFaSi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
III. The generation of Ego's maternal great-grandfather		
MoFaFa	Sogokuru	Sogokuruza
MoFaFaBr	Sogokuru	Sogokuruza
MoFaFaSi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuruza

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

physiological aspect of sexuality. They do not seem to have thought of sexual relations as the fulfilment of a romantic love between two individuals meant to mate with each other and nobody else. The way spouses were chosen by the two patrilineages prevented any such ideas, for the choosing of spouses rested on the assumption that any boy and any girl of the right age and reasonably attractive could be good partners in marriage and sexuality. But feelings of sympathy and affection developed later as a result of their life together rather than as its basis. According to our informants, love, in the sense of attractiveness based on individual characteristics, was greater in non-marital relations. 'One slept with a certain woman to make her happy because one liked her,' I was told.

Various prohibitions and obligations indicate how sexuality in marriage was related to events concerning the community and the patrilineage. During the mourning period for the husband's father and mother, which lasted one, two or three months according to the region, intercourse was prohibited for both husband and wife. It was also prohibited for one moon after the death of the wife's child, and for two or three moons for the surviving spouse when one of the spouses died. The meaning of this taboo was not only that one had to refrain from enjoying oneself when one should have been in sorrow. It meant also a certain symbolic participation in death or in the diminution of life affecting the patrilineage. This is, I think, what informants have in mind when they say in this connexion that sex is a sacred activity. This interpretation seems to be supported by what happened when a king died. Not only had all Ruanda to be continent for a certain period (some informants said two moons, others one year), but the bulls were separated from cows and rams from sheep. The king (*mwami*) was identified with Ruanda. If he was strong, Ruanda was strong, if he was getting old and weak, he had to commit suicide because he endangered the country's life. In that context, if animals were prevented from mating it was to express symbolically the idea of the death of the community rather than, it seems, to deny them pleasure.

On the other hand, intercourse was obligatory when events fortunate for the patrilineage or the community at large occurred. For instance when a new hut was occupied, when six days had passed after the birth of a child, when the first teeth of the baby